

**01835**

**1995/05/18**

PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED EXCISE  
EAP/EMBASSY BEIJING

INCUMING

P  
B-12

PAGE 81 OF 83 BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 188543Z 026876 S878419  
ACTION: CM(05)

INFO: EAP (81) P (81) RA (81) UN (81)  
----- 18/0938Z A2 DDK (TOTAL COPIES: 812)

ACTION EAP-88

INFO LOC-88 ACDA-17 ACDE-88 AID-88 AMAD-81 CIAE-88 OASY-88  
DODE-88 DOE-88 EB-88 FBIE-88 H-81 TEDE-88 INR-88  
10-88 L-88 ADS-88 M-88 NSAE-88 NSCE-88 OIC-82  
OMB-81 PA-81 PM-88 PRS-81 P-81 SP-88 SR-88  
SS-88 STR-81 TRSE-88 T-88 USIE-88 SA-88 PHB-88  
PRME-81 DRL-89 G-88 /048W  
----- C6CDA4 188546Z /38

P 188538Z MAY 95  
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3528  
INFO AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL SHENYANG

AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU

AMCONSUL CHENGDU

CONFIDENTIAL BEIJING 817629

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PRUM, PGOV, CH

SUBJECT: INTELLECTUALS PETITION FOR "TOLERANCE",  
RE-EVALUATION OF TIANANMEN

REF: (A) BEIJING 16551; (B) BEIJING 85211;  
(C) BEIJING 5641; (D) BEIJING 11486  
(E) BEIJING 16554

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. A GROUP OF 45 CHINESE INTELLECTUALS HAS  
PRESENTED A BOLD PETITION TO JIANG ZEMIN AND QIAO SHI  
CALLING ON THE AUTHORITIES TO TOLERATE PEACEFUL  
EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS,  
RE-EVALUATE THE JUNE 4 INCIDENT, AND RELEASE THOSE  
IMPRISONED FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES IN 1989 OR FOR THEIR  
POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. THEY LINKED THIS  
CALL TO A UNITED NATIONS PROCLAMATION OF 1995 AS A  
"YEAR FOR TOLERANCE." *BB*

J END SUMMARY.

CALL FOR TOLERANCE

3. A BOLD PETITION, SIGNED BY 45 INDIVIDUALS, MOSTLY  
SCIENTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS (BUT INCLUDING A FEW  
WELL-KNOWN DISSIDENTS SUCH AS WANG DAN, LIU HANCHUN,  
AND DING ZILIN), BEGAN CIRCULATING IN BEIJING LATE ON  
MAY 16. POLOFF RECEIVED A COPY OF THE PETITION AND A  
COVER LETTER ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN AND  
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CHAIRMAN QIAO SHI, BOTH  
DATED MAY 15, FROM A JOURNALIST ON THE EVENING OF MAY

16. IN THE TEXT (AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF  
THE TEXT APPEARS IN PARA 10), PETITIONERS CALLED FOR  
GREATER TOLERANCE OF DISSENTING POLITICAL AND  
RELIGIOUS VIEWS, Tying THEIR PLEA TO THE UN

BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 188543Z 026876 S878419  
RESOLUTION PROCLAMING 1995 THE "YEAR OF TOLERANCE."  
WHILE THE PETITION TOUCHED ON THE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE  
QUESTION OF RE-EVALUATING THE TIANANMEN INCIDENT, ITS  
TONE WAS REASONED, CONSTRUCTIVE AND MODERATE.

4. WHILE A FEW OF THE SIGNATORIES HAD ALSO SIGNED  
PETITIONS ADDRESSED TO THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS  
IN FEBRUARY (REFS B AND C), THERE WAS LITTLE  
OVERLAP. MOST WERE AFFILIATED WITH THE CHINESE  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, THE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,  
OR MAJOR UNIVERSITIES. NOTED DISSIDENTS CHEN ZIMING,  
XU WENLI, ZHOU DUO AND OTHERS DID NOT SIGN THE MAY 15  
PETITION.

<input type="checkbox"/> DENY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IN PART	<input type="checkbox"/> EXEMPTIONS
<input type="checkbox"/> FOIA Exemptions	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> B1	<input type="checkbox"/> PA Exemptions
<input type="checkbox"/> CLASSIFY TO	<input type="checkbox"/> 18 or	<input type="checkbox"/> DOWNGRADE TO 18 or
<input type="checkbox"/> TS	<input type="checkbox"/> 18 or	<input type="checkbox"/> TS authority to:

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INCOMING

PAGE 87 OF 87 RFIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 180543Z 026876

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S070415

BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 180543Z 026876

FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE UN AND IT IS ALSO A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITH VETO POWER. THEREFORE, IT SHOULD CONSCIENTIOUSLY IMPLEMENT THIS RESOLUTION, CAUSING THE RELATIVELY UNFAMILIAR SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE TO TAKE ROOT IN OUR COUNTRY'S FIELD OF POLITICS, IDEOLOGY, RELIGION, CULTURE AND EDUCATION.

TOLERANCE IS A MARK OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION. IT IS A

PRECONDITION AND BASIS FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION. WESTERN ENLIGHTENMENT THINKERS RECOGNIZED THE VALUE OF TOLERANCE IN THEIR LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST DICTATORIAL CONTROL BY THE THEOCRATIC POWERS OF WORLD FEUDALISM. THEY AND THEIR SUCCESSORS, AFTER

ACHIEVING POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, DID NOT GO DOWN THE OLD ROAD OF HISTORIC DICTATORIAL MONARCHY; INSTEAD THEY EMPHASIZED CITIZENS' BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AS BASIC PRINCIPLES IN ESTABLISHING THEIR COUNTRIES. THEY DID NOT DEMAND THAT ALL HAVE THE SAME OPINIONS AND TOOK THE ATTITUDE OF PERMITTING ALL SORTS OF THOUGHT, BELIEFS, CUSTOMS AND ACTS. THEY PERMITTED THE PERSONAL VIEWS OF THE MINORITY TO BE FREELY AND OPENLY DISPLAYED (INCLUDING ASPECTS OF POLITICS, RELIGION, SCIENCE AND ARTS AND CULTURE). BECAUSE THEY HAD THIS SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE, SCIENCE AND CULTURE EXPERIENCED LONG TERM PROSPERITY. THEREFORE, THERE WAS NO REPETITION OF THE HISTORICAL TRAGEDIES SUCH AS CONSIDERING HERESIES AS SCOURGES OR THE BURNING TO DEATH OF BRUNO OR TORTURE TO FORCE GALILEO TO GIVE UP HIS THEORY OF THE EARTH MOVING THROUGH THE HEAVENS.

IN EXAMINING THE CULTURE OF OUR ANCIENT COUNTRY, SEVERAL THOUSAND YEARS OF INTOLERANCE AND NOT PERMITTING ALTERNATIVE VOICES HAS EXISTED EVEN UNTIL TODAY. IN 1955 BECAUSE HE EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL ARTISTIC VIEWS IN WRITTEN FORM, HU FENG AND HIS ASSOCIATES WERE DECLARED GUILTY OF FORMING A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY CLIQUE INCLUDING OVER TWO THOUSAND PEOPLE. IN 1957, THE INTELLECTUALS WHO DARED TO SPEAK FRANKLY IN ANSWER TO THE CALL FOR A "HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND" WERE ALL LABELED "RIGHTISTS," NUMBERING 11 PERCENT OF ALL INTELLECTUALS (AT A MAXIMUM 550,000 PEOPLE). THE 18 YEARS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION BEGINNING IN 1966

WERE A GREATER NATIONAL DISASTER FOR THE PEOPLE BY ELIMINATING DISSIDENT VIEWS. AFTER 1978 THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED SOMEWHAT, THE MISTAKEN CASES NOTED ABOVE WERE BASICALLY OVERTURNED, AND WE HAVE SEEN AN INITIAL LOOSENING AND THE BEGINNING OF RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. BUT, BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE TO REALIZE TRUE REFORM AND OPENING AND THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE NECESSARY FOR MODERNIZATION, THE RESULT WAS THE HUMAN TRAGEDY OF JUNE 4, 1989 WHICH SHOCKED THE WORLD, ALONG WITH THE SERIES OF INCIDENTS VIOLATING CITIZENS' BASIC RIGHTS WHICH FOLLOWED.

IN ORDER TO WELCOME THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE, WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BROADCAST THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE THAT IS INDISPENSABLE FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION AND FOSTER THE TRUE IMPLEMENTATION IN OUR COUNTRY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE UN CHARTER TO "PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE ADHERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASIC FREEDOMS AMONG ALL MANKIND."

WITH THIS INTENT, WE HOPE THAT THE AUTHORITIES:

1. INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE PETITION FOLLOWS:

LETTER DATED APRIL 15, 1995 FROM XU LIANGYING TO JIANG ZEMIN AND QIAO SHI:

THIS YEAR IS THE UNITED NATIONS YEAR FOR TOLERANCE. ON THE GROUNDS OF MY MANY YEARS OF RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF WORLD SCIENCE AND MODERN CIVILIZATION, I STRONGLY FEEL THAT TOLERANCE IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION; BUT THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF OUR COUNTRY LACKS A SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE AND IS USED TO HAVING A UNIFORMLY IMPOSED IDEOLOGY. THE LACK OF THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE IS THE MAIN BARRIER TO THE REALIZATION OF MODERNIZATION IN OUR COUNTRY. IN ORDER TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION, I HAVE DRAFTED "A PLEA GREETING THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE: A CALL TO REALIZE TOLERANCE INSIDE CHINA." I HAVE RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF MY TEACHER, TO WHOM I AM GRATEFUL, THE 88-YEAR OLD NUCLEAR PHYSICIST MR. WANG GANCHANG AND OTHER ELDER INTELLECTUALS (THE 91-YEAR OLD AUTHOR MR. LOU SHIYI), AND I HAVE ALSO RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF MANY ACADEMIC FRIENDS (MOST ARE PROFESSORS AT THE CHINESE ACADEMY

OF SCIENCES, THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND SEVERAL FAMOUS UNIVERSITIES) AND SEVERAL YOUNG FRIENDS (THEY HAVE ALL RECEIVED INTOLERANT TREATMENT). PLEASE CONSIDER AND ACCEPT THIS PLEA SIGNED WITH 45 NAMES IN LIGHT OF YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND THE REALIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY'S MODERNIZATION AND SOCIAL STABILITY.

GREETING THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE: A CALL FOR TOLERANCE WITHIN CHINA

ON DECEMBER 20, 1993, THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION 48-126 PROCLAMING 1995 THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE AS A WAY FOR MARKING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UN, AND OF PROCLAMING THE BASIC SPIRIT EMBODIED IN THE UN: TOLERANCE. OUR COUNTRY IS A

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PAGE 83 OF 83 BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 180543Z 026876  
(1) USE A TOLERANT SPIRIT IN RESPONDING TO ALL SORTS  
OF OPINIONS ON IDEOLOGY, POLITICAL THOUGHT AND  
RELIGIOUS BELIEF. NEVER AGAIN CONSIDER PEOPLE  
HOLDING INDEPENDENT THOUGHTS OR VIEWS "ENEMY  
ELEMENTS," AND OPPRESS, ATTACK, SURVEIL, HOLD UNDER  
HOUSE ARREST OR EVEN ARREST THEM.

(2) HOLDING A SPIRIT OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS,  
RE-EVALUATE THE JUNE 4 INCIDENT, AND ALSO RELEASE  
FROM PRISON THE PEOPLE INVOLVED.

(3) RELEASE ALL PERSONS INCARCERATED FOR THEIR  
THOUGHTS, STATEMENTS AND BELIEFS AND RESOLUTELY END  
THE INGLORIOUS ANCIENT TRADITION OF LITERARY CRIMES.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE ALSO HOPE THAT THE ENTIRE  
SOCIETY CAN NURTURE A SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE TOWARD  
OTHERS AND SUPPORT A RATIONAL JUST ATTITUDE TOWARD  
HANDLING ALL SORTS OF CONTRADICTIONS AND DISPUTES,  
USING PEACEFUL MEANS TO EXPRESS THEIR PERSONAL VIEWS  
AND OPINIONS. AVOIDING RADICAL EMOTIONS WHICH  
STRENGTHEN CONTRADICTIONS AND ABSOLUTELY REFRAIN FROM  
VIOLENT ACTIONS. ONLY IN THIS WAY, WILL OUR COUNTRY  
BE ABLE TO PROCEED IN A STABLE FASHION DOWN THE ROAD  
OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND MODERNIZATION.

OF COURSE, IN CALLING FOR TOLERANCE, THIS DOES NOT  
MEAN NOT JUST KEEPING ON GOOD TERMS WITH EVERYONE  
WITHOUT REGARD FOR RIGHT AND WRONG. TOLERANCE CANNOT  
BE SEPARATED FROM THE CONCEPTS OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM,  
HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW. THEY ARE MUTUALLY  
SUPPORTED AND MUTUALLY ACHIEVED. TOLERANCE IS A

CONCEPT WHICH SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN DEMOCRATIC  
POLITICS. IT IS A REQUIREMENT FOR POLITICAL  
DEMOCRATIZATION. TOLERANCE IS DEMONSTRATED IN  
RESPECTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AND ALSO TAKING  
MORAL STANDARDS AND LAW AS LIMITS. AT PRESENT IN OUR

COUNTRY CORRUPTION IS SPREADING, CORRUPT PHENOMENA  
SUCH AS EXCHANGING INFLUENCE FOR MONEY AND MISUSING  
PUBLIC FUNDS ARE INCREASING. ONE MUST BE THOROUGH IN  
EXTERMINATING AN EVIL WHICH THREATENS TO HARM THE  
COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE. BUT WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT  
WITHOUT DEMOCRATIC SUPERVISION, ESPECIALLY THE  
SUPERVISION OF INDEPENDENT PUBLIC OPINION, CORRUPTION  
CANNOT BE COMPLETELY ELIMINATED. THE ENGLISH  
HISTORIAN LORD ACTON POINTED OUT AS EARLY AS 188  
YEARS AGO: "POWER LEADS TO CORRUPTION. ABSOLUTE  
POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY." IN 1989, THE FRENCH  
STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS POINTED THIS OUT EVEN MORE  
CLEARLY: IGNORANCE OR NEGLECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS THE  
SOLE CAUSE OF PUBLIC MISFORTUNE AND GOVERNMENT  
CORRUPTION. THIS UNCHANGING TRUTH SHOULD BECOME  
PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED AT ALL LEVELS IN OUR COUNTRY.  
REALIZING TOLERANCE WILL FORCEFULLY ADVANCE THE  
ANTI-CORRUPTION STRUGGLE WHICH IS OF CONCERN TO ALL  
THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY.

THE WORLD NEEDS TOLERANCE. CHINA NEEDS TOLERANCE.  
WE HOPE THAT THROUGH ALL THE ACTIVITIES OF THE UN  
YEAR FOR TOLERANCE THAT THE SITUATION OF INTOLERANCE  
WHICH HAS EXISTED IN OUR COUNTRY SINCE ANCIENT TIMES  
WILL BEGIN TO CHANGE AND THAT TOLERANCE WILL  
GRADUALLY BECOME A FORM OF SPIRITUAL WEALTH ENJOYED  
BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY.

BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 180543Z 026876 376876 5870

SIGNED:

WANG GANCHANG 3769/3227/2498

LOU SHIYI 2869/6624/1138

YANG XIANYI 2799/2889/4135

ZHOU FUCHENG 0719/6534/2852

WU ZUGUANG 0782/4371/0342

XU LIANGYING 6079/5328/5391

LIN MU 2651/3668

GUO XINGXIAN 6665/5281/0341

XUE YUGU 5641/4416/6253

ZHU ZHAOXIANG 2612/0348/4382

HU JIMIN 5178/3444/3846

HUANG ZONGZHEN 7886/1358/3914

WANG RONG 3076/1368

WANG LAIDI 3076/0171/2769

ZHAO ZHONGLI 6392/0022/4539

HU YADONG 5178/0868/2639

WANG YUEXIAN 3076/1878/0341

LI PEISHAN 2621/0168/3790

HUANG WEI 7886/3555

DONG GUANGBI 5516/0342/1084

FAN DAINIAN 5408/1486/1628

ZHOU MINGZHEN 0719/2494/6966

XU GUOZHI 6079/0948/1887

JIANG LIJIN 5592/7787/6855

HU ZUOXUAN 5178/0155/3763

DING ZILIN 0002/1311/7287

JIANG PEIKUN 5592/1014/0981

LIU LIAO 0491/6697

DONG YANKAI 5516/1693/7065

WANG FUREN 3769/1381/0888

WANG RUOSHUI 3769/5387/3055

WANG ZISONG 3076/1311/1529

ZHANG YISAN 1728/1355/0005

LIANG ZHIXUE 2733/1887/1331

HUANG XIANG 7886/5046

BAO ZUNXIN 0545/6690/0287

WU ZHEN 0702/7281

WANG LINGYUN 3769/0407/0061

CHEN XIAOYA 7115/1420/7161

LI GUIREN 2621/0311/0888

WANG DAN 3769/0038

WU XUECAN 0782/1331/3503

WANG QISHENG 3076/2759/3932

LIU NIANCHUN 0491/1819/2504

YANG HAI 2254/3189

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